

Differing approaches to public space and the multicultural in the (re)making of a strategic place: Mouraria in Lisbon, Portugal (2007-present)

Pedro Gomes, Lab'Urba, Université Paris-Est pedro.gomes@univ-paris-est.fr

Abstract

Lisbon's mayoral team elected in 2007 set the attraction of new residents and employment and the enhancement of the city's quality of life as its main objectives. Urban rehabilitation and public spaces soon emerged as two cornerstones in attaining such goals. The regeneration of Mouraria would become one of the Office's flagship projects.

Mouraria is a historical neighbourhood standing between the city centre and some of Lisbon's major tourist attractions, whose development was hampered by physical dereliction, social deprivation and widespread negative representations as a site of crime and deviance.

Aiming at attracting new residents, activities and boosting the neighbourhood's touristic appeal, the council set a program of major urban regeneration in motion, heavily reliant on public space requalification. The program was soon to be accompanied by myriad initiatives spearheaded by the city council and involving different local stakeholders. These multiple initiatives mobilize differently two of the neighbourhood's most distinguishing identity traits: its large immigrant population; and its being the "authentic" *lisboetas*, the cradle of *fado* music.

This paper focuses on three of these public space initiatives: the urban regeneration program and its "social" counterpart; *Todos*, a festival celebrating the neighbourhood's cultural diversity; and *Mercado de Fusão*, the concept behind the private management of Mouraria's main square.

Drawing on official documents, press clippings and several interviews with municipal technicians and local stakeholders, I discuss the different visions of the public as a noun and subject of urban policy present in each of these instances, and the ways cultural identity and diversity are engaged with.

In so doing, I hope to demonstrate how an understanding of current change in Mouraria can benefit from an analysis of the different rationalities at play, thereby mitigating overgeneralizing political economy accounts and monolithic views of the public institution as an urban stakeholder.

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1. Introduction

Lisbon's mayoral team elected in 2007 set the attraction of new residents and employment and the enhancement of the city's quality of life as its main objectives. Urban rehabilitation and public spaces soon emerged as two cornerstones in attaining such goals. The regeneration of Mouraria would become one of the Office's flagship projects.

Aiming at attracting new residents, activities and boosting the neighbourhood's touristic appeal, the council set a program of major urban regeneration in motion, heavily reliant on public space requalification. The program was soon to be accompanied by myriad initiatives spearheaded by the city council and involving different local stakeholders. These multiple initiatives mobilize differently two of the neighbourhood's most distinguishing identity traits: its large immigrant population; and its being the home of "authentic" *lisboetas*, the cradle of *fado* music.

This wave of investments in the neighbourhood has undoubtedly brought forth socio-spatial change. As in many similar processes in cities all over the world, such change is not uncontroversial, with the ever-present dangers of gentrification and inequality looming in. Critical urban theorists would, most likely, focus on critical diagnoses of what has been going on in Mouraria.

The purpose of this paper is different, however. Rather than focusing on describing or criticising the changes the neighbourhood has been undergoing, I will privilege an account of the different facets of public action in the neighbourhood that have caused such change. I will namely focus on the different ways public space and 'the multicultural' are addressed and combined by different programmes and instruments deployed in the area. In doing so, I hope to underline how both an understanding *and* a critique of contemporary urban change could benefit from breaking away from monolithic and univocal representations of the State and its role in such processes.

2. Introducing Mouraria

Mouraria dates back to the 12th century, when it was founded to house the Moors, beaten in the Christian Reconquista. For long a stigmatized area, (Menezes, 2012a) it also embodies 'a working class, patrimonial and multicultural Lisbon' (Menezes, 2011, p. 1), where multi-ethnic immigrant populations and commerce coexist with 'traditional' lisboans. This simultaneity of a bad reputation as a bohemian and vicious neighbourhood, and as the cradle of Lisbon authenticity, rooted in the birth of *fado*, can be traced back to the 19th century and it will influence public projects until the present, as we will see throughout the article.

The early 20th century will accordingly be marked by pleas for a "civilizing urbanism" in the neighbourhood. Between 1930 and 1960, the neighbourhood will be targeted by an urban policy echoing modernizing ideals of hygiene and embellishment. Its downtown, on the hill's base, will finally be demolished between 1946 and 1949 (Menezes, 2009). Existing marginal activities (prostitution, taverns) will be pushed to other parts of the neighbourhood, and the impact of demolishing Mouraria's heart of social life will be all the more intense as the vacant plot (named Martim Moniz) will for decades be of an indefinite statute, serving as parking, a rubble deposit and a temporary market (Menezes, 2009, 2012b). Other categories of 'the marginalized' will come to inhabit this vacant space: homeless people, drug consumers and immigrant/ethnic minorities, sometimes undocumented (Menezes, 2012a).

Several plans were drafted to the area, but they were not implemented for the most part. By 1997, when plans for building a square in Martim Moniz are re-visited, little had been done, except for two shopping centres, which soon became important places of gross retail, mostly managed by migrants. This reinforced a tendency present since the 1970s, wherein the area became a favoured site for the development of wholesale commerce, often by immigrants and catering to a wide variety of users of different national origins (Menezes, 2009), further cementing the neighbourhood's image as an 'ethnic' and 'migrant' neighbourhood (Brito Guterres, 2012; Malheiros, Carvalho, & Mendes, 2012). These commercial establishments will play a crucial role in a slow, gradual, opening up of the neighbourhood to new user categories (Menezes, 2009).

By 2007, Mouraria was seen simultaneously as an immigrant and typical neighbourhood, dirty, unsafe and heavily associated with drugs and prostitution. Among its residents, there are the 'natives', immigrants and recent arrivals to the neighbourhood, often Portuguese and of a very different sociocultural profile, whom Malheiros *et al.* (2012) call *marginal gentrifiers*. These representations and timid signs of change will shape the new breath of municipal intervention, in terms of the visibility and breadth of the programs deployed. These are the subject of the following sections of the article.

3. The QREN Mouraria, "The cities within the city"

3.1. A brief history of urban rehabilitation in Lisbon and in Mouraria

Echoing European trends, urban rehabilitation in historic areas became a policy concern for the municipality in the 1980s. In 1985-86, following demands from local residents, the centre-right Municipality creates the first structures addressing the matter: Local Technical Offices (*GTL*), in Alfama and Mouraria, and a unit working on the city's *pátios* and *vilas*, residential typologies from the industrial era. While the *GTL* embody a place-based rationale, the project on *pátios* and *vilas*' mission was of inventorying all these structures, spread throughout the city.

The *GTL*'s purpose was to plan, oversee and manage the urban rehabilitation of the areas in question, and give social support to the residents. This proximity to the residents and the territory is a very important aspect of this first phase of urban rehabilitation in the city; the emphasis is put on proximity management (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2011a).

In spite of their planning prerogatives, their everyday functioning will be controlled by the urgent needs of the designated areas, namely severe physical dereliction and social deprivation. Renovating buildings and housing their tenants during the works were their main task in terms of rehabilitation; heritage was an important principle in these interventions. The Chiado fire in 1988 and the reconstruction that followed helped cementing the recognition of the city centre's importance, including its heritage, in the municipal strategy.

The socialist-communist team who arrives at the Mayor's office in the early 1990s institutionalises urban rehabilitation as its own municipal direction. By 1993-94, urban rehabilitation becomes more closely associated with a strategy of tourism development in the city, fuelled by the proximity of two major international events in the city (European Capital of Culture in 1994 and the Universal Exhibition in 1998). Urban rehabilitation should provide a 'historic centre shaped to contemporaneity' at the same time the contemporary city was being

built in the waterfront development of the universal exhibition (municipal technician, interview, 08/2013).

This new purpose was addressed through Integrated Projects (PI), parallel to GTL's everyday workings. Each historic neighbourhood had its own PI, comprising of housing rehabilitation and the creation of cultural facilities in notable historic buildings aimed at energizing the sociocultural fabric of the areas. Each project was structured around this focal point, and in some cases included an intervention in the surrounding public spaces. These were seen as complimentary to the intervention in the built fabric, and their main role was to create an attractive surrounding to the facilities, also for tourists. Most of these PI were not completed.

When the municipal council shifts to the centre right, the municipal organization is restructured yet again in 2002, as will the philosophy and methods of urban rehabilitation. The service becomes lost many of its competences, and is reduced to social assistance and the administrative analysis of co-financed renovation projects. The new strategy's was meant to depart from the unpredictability of a casuistic approach to rehabilitation in order to achieve larger scale, more visible processes. The municipality gradually withdrew from direct intervention in buildings, searching for ways to stimulate the role of private investors especially in vacant ones. by designating priority streets and tendering bundles of rehabilitation work. Most initiatives failed for financial unviability and in some cases left a heavy burden with re-housing fees. Societies for Urban Rehabilitation also date from this era. They were supposed to manage the territories under their jurisdiction and draft the respective policy documents and strategies. Of the three initially created, only one fulfilled part of its role. The other two were suppressed in 2008 and 2009 because of their ineffectiveness. Only the SRU in the western part of the city is still functioning today. (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2011a)

In 2007, the rationale of urban rehabilitation changes once again with the arrival of the current socialist led municipal team, in an attempt to recuperate the spirit of proximity management. Project Units (former GTLs) were reorganized and given back their attributions in urban management, which allowed more flexibility and agility in licensing procedures for construction. At the same time, priority was given to rehabilitation municipal estates, through EU funds and using money from the Casino. A Program of Priority Interventions in Urban Rehabilitation was designed to finish the construction works halted for years throughout the city. (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2011a) Despite the great amount of funds invested in urban rehabilitation throughout time, the physical dereliction of built-up areas continued. Many of the setbacks identified relate to inefficient instruments and miscalculations, on the municipality's side, of its own role in the process. It has become clear that it does not have the financial resources to be the major player in the actual rehabilitation process, but the Council has also not been able to find the appropriate tools to guide and control private actors – many of the past years' efforts were left unfinished or brought about heavy financial burdens for the city's safes (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2011a). Following changes in national legislation in 2009 and in an effort of finding the right tools, the Municipality created a strategy for urban rehabilitation for the 2011-2024 timeframe.

This policy document published in 2011 sets down the plan for giving a new push to urban rehabilitation in Lisbon, making it the privileged procedure for 'producing the city'. The strategy is part of an ensemble of initiatives the current mayoral team has been developing since coming into office, which stem from the two key ideas put forward as the City's greatest challenges: to

re-inhabit Lisbon and to generate employment and wealth (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2011b). In this context, rehabilitation comes up as a priority.

Given property owners' and other real estate businesses' reluctance to engage in rehabilitation, the strategy seeks new ways to surpass them. Traditional coercive works and financial aids had proven widely ineffective.

Firstly, rehabilitation is understood as a holistic approach to the urban fabric, including buildings, public space and infrastructures and facilities. The municipality's role is that of a partner, not some police officer who intimidates and replaces property owners, and a regulator of the housing market.

Besides designating all consolidated areas of the city as eligible for urban rehabilitation, it identifies concentrations of physical dereliction of the built-up areas, the so-called BIP/ZIP (see below), these might be designated as areas of systematic rehabilitation, thus demanding a holistic approach. QREN-Mouraria is one of such projects aimed at the systematic rehabilitation of a priority area, taking advantage of European funds. This program is the subject of the next section.

3.2. An action program for the neighbourhood

Lisbon's regional office, responsible for the allocation of a part of European funds in its jurisdiction, opened a call for *partnerships for urban regeneration* in 2008. *QREN Mouraria - the cities within the city* is one of the first examples of the municipality's repositioning regarding urban rehabilitation. The program starts in 2009.

It is structured along two axes, seen as 'levers for new opportunities of change and development' (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, s.d.b), namely the requalification of public space and the urban environment, and the re-use and rehabilitation of the Lagares block to give way to the Mouraria innovation centre, a business incubator. The latter's purpose is to attract new activities and users.

These two axes are complemented by three instrumental ones 'which integrate the values of memory, identity and tradition' (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, s.d.b): the valorisation of arts and crafts; touristic and sociocultural valorisation; and a communication plan. Public space is, then, one of the cornerstones of the intervention. Several public spaces of the neighbourhood will be redeveloped (see below).

The axis on the valorisation of arts and crafts encompasses a rather heteroclite array of interventions, not necessarily directly related to arts and crafts in a strict sense. These include the rehabilitation of buildings for social facilities and of cultural initiatives whose purpose is to strengthen the neighbourhood's identity traits and its origins. The creation of the *Fado site* in the house where Severa, the mythical Mouraria native who became the first 'star' of the musical genre in the 19th century, is the most significant one. The house will also have a terrace on the small square it faces (also redeveloped within the program), whereto the site's activities are supposed to spread out. This terrace, and the site itself, should function as an anchor space for both Mouraria 'natives' and other residents (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, s.d.c). Within this axis, one can also find initiatives for drug addiction prevention, knowledge and creativity (film sessions, reading-related activities, a book on the experiences of visitors to the neighbourhood

and the city). Finally, this axis contemplates initiatives on gastronomy, including a book on residents' everyday lives and favourite dishes.

On sociocultural and touristic valorisation, the main assumption is that 'the redevelopment of public spaces and of the urban environment will make for the inclusion of Mouraria in tourist routes' (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, s.d.d), by increasing and improving routes between Martim Moniz and the castle. Within this axis, one can find actions such as the valorisation of a piece of the city walls, the rehabilitation of a church into a cultural venue, the definition of the *intercultural corridor*, the organisation of Todos' successor (see below), the integration of the *cultural-touristic route* in Lisbon's tourist routes following their redesign, guided tours by a local association (some of the sung by fado singers), publishing a comic book on the neighbourhood's history and the organization of a fado contest and the respective record release.

The third and final instrumental axis, a communication and outreach plan for the program, but also for the neighbourhood and its heritage. The program foresees the creation of a website, big promotional and/or informational outdoors, or for public announcements on construction works and sites, and fliers. But there is also a large part of the budget that is not affected from the onset. Several activities will fall under this plan, including public art projects, a skateboarding relating event, a light art show...

3.3. The interventions in public space

As stated previously, several public spaces of the neighbourhood will be intervened which will bring forth the issue of coherence between the different projects, hence a 'strategic principle' for the ensemble. This principle is 'the creation of quality multifunctional open spaces, with conceptual solutions in tune with the urban-historic and heritage fabric of Mouraria, and responsive to residents' (and visitors') needs' (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, s.d.a).

An important share of these public space interventions is done along an axis named *cultural-touristic route* and in a few small squares in the immediate vicinity. This is 'the most visible operation of the action program and the initiative which will induce new behaviours the most, not only in terms of public conviviality, but also in the rehabilitation of buildings and the introduction of new activities' (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, s.d.a). The existence of listed heritage items along this axis allows its marketing as a *route* by the city's tourism promotion agencies. The program also includes interventions in the many fountains in the area.

These public space redevelopments should also cater for the installation of leisure areas. Consequently, the redefinition of pedestrian and automobile zones is a means to allow the installation of terraces, in themselves a tool for improving the neighbourhood's urban image.

Public space management and maintenance are also taken into account, with the exclusive dedication of staff, equipment and mechanical means for cleaning, washings and waste collection to the neighbourhood, as well as educational activities targeting the residents on the subject.

Public space practices are also addressed through an initiative for the 'education on public conviviality best practices', whose purpose is to reinforce 'on the sociability side' the physical interventions on Mouraria's public spaces. The program, developed at a local primary school attended by several children of the neighbourhood, had the purpose of 'contributing to the respect for commonly shared spaces' and that 'given that public space belongs to everyone, then

each one of us is also a bit responsible for its good shape, comfort and beauty' (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, s.d.a).

Finally, the last goal of these public space interventions is that of social cohesion in what was identified as the 'intercultural corridor', a street harbouring many shops and businesses of a 'non-Western cultural and religious matrix' which have 'introduced and diffused new tastes and forms of consumption, thus corresponding to a space of exchange and learning between different social groups' (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, s.d.a). Its physical renovation should entice the social inclusion wanted.

3.3.1. The preliminary program

The public space redevelopments within the QREN Mouraria were subdivided into two 'packages', delivered to two different design teams. However, there was a single preliminary program established within the QREN Mouraria project team.

The program defines the public space redevelopments' purpose as the urban and environmental requalification of those spaces, for increased quality of life and sustainability. Spaces should be dignified and humanised, making them more appealing for residential, touristic and ludic purposes. The interventions should also facilitate a homogeneous reading of the area, while safeguarding the specificities of each space, as well as being attentive to heritage values. They should contribute to the economic vitality of the area, while being respectful of residents' needs and the urban tissue of the neighbourhood.

These broad intentions translate into several principles (Unidade de Projecto da Mouraria, 2009, p. 3) as follows. Improving the urban environment and image are seen as fundamental for guaranteeing the fruition of public spaces. Consequently, interventions should ensure certain safety and comfort levels so that they are attractive as privileged sites for sociability and urban life.

Improvements on accessibility and mobility include restrictions on motorized access to the neighbourhood and parking, as well as the removal of architectural barriers to pedestrian circulation. Pedestrians should be clearly benefited by the intervention, which may entail changes to the actual urban design, through redefining circulation areas, possibly by pavement design. These should always strive for coherence, be as little intrusive as possible and strive for authenticity, respecting traditional designs, materials and values. Reuse of materials is highly encouraged, whilst minding traditional pavement's adherence problems. Adopted solutions should also account for cleanliness and urban cleaning, and containment walls should be repaired. Due to the neighbourhood's configuration, mechanical means might be an option for some level differences.

Street lighting is an important issue in the redesign of these public spaces, answering to demands in energy consumption, safety and comfort. However, innovations in the matter should not compromise the area's image.

Regarding street furniture (benches, bins and bollards), existing one should be replaced and new items are to be introduced, but this should not make the purchase of design items in regular markets impossible. Changes to signage should also maintain the neighbourhood's image, as well as properly identifying the touristic-cultural route.

The use of greenery in the area is to be rethought according to the new uses and functions imagined for the different public spaces. New species may be used, yet they must respect local constraints and the uses sought after.

Design changes will liberate room for terraces, which will in turn allow for a greater appropriation of the neighbourhood's pocket squares, thus making them more attractive as convivial 'stay' areas. Shadowing structures might be necessary in order to fulfil these goals.

The creation of a technical canal on the ground during infrastructure renovation will improve the neighbourhood's image by removing them from building façades, and the inclusion of fibre optic should make the area more attractive for a younger population.

The Intendente square should receive an independent design, whose main concern will be the respect for existing heritage, its physical, historical and aesthetic integrity and its preservation and valorisation as a testimony of authenticity.

This preliminary program contains an annex on the history of the intervention area, but it sometimes goes beyond mere history, giving information on the area's economic structure and on the dynamics of social life in some of its subareas. But it does so without any systematisation or comprehensiveness.

3.3.2. From Largo do Caldas to Rua dos Cavaleiros

This first package of public space redesign is structured along one of the area's structuring roads (Rua das Farinhas/Rua Marquês de Ponte de Lima), opened up in the 19th century, where some of the most notable buildings in the area are to be found. It also includes several pocket squares and connecting streets in the immediate vicinity of the main street.

The intervention has two main purposes, to act as a lever for urban rehabilitation and to stimulate community life, by strengthening local pride and the affective appropriation of spaces. The proposal departs from the structural and spatial valorisation of both the corridor-street and the street-square ensemble, and the relationship between private and public space of this traditional southern urbanism. The proposal conciliates formal restraint and respect for the place's image-memory, highlighting the site's scenic and experiential qualities.

The design is described as modern, yet respectful of its context's environment, forms and materials, namely limestone, granite and basalt. It must also make the hierarchy and the diversity of the spaces intelligible. To emphasise the area's charisma, the project proposes a very clean pavement design that contributes to the connection, continuity and identification of the different spaces. Other concerns are comfort, security, resistance and endurance.

Formally, the project is indeed of certain simplicity, 'it was almost just repaving' (designer, interview 09.09.2013). More than reinventing the neighbourhood's public spaces, it was a question of putting an end to a long period of abandonment and physical dereliction, hence the choice for continuity, contextualism and avoiding sharp ruptures. It was largely a question of liberating space, heavily occupied by cars, and of restructuring the balance between pedestrian and motorized spaces. This overwhelming presence of cars did introduce a degree of uncertainty as to the actual appropriation of the space after their redevelopment. At the same time, pre-existences in terms of the urban tissue are deemed as *a priori* determinants of each spaces vocation. Accordingly, the designers distance themselves from the figure of the 'demiurge'

architect, who invents society and uses with its design. Standing before the uncertainty of the spaces' future appropriation, the team focuses on universalist notions of use, by striving for comfort and ergonomics.

Confronted with a diverse population (even though the largest concentrations of 'immigrant spaces' and residents are seen as being elsewhere), the designers will choose to privilege a universalist notion of 'comfort' as the key to creating spaces that will be effectively used by people. Comfort is brought to the spaces through benches and trees for shadow. These items and their conjunction are common features on design guidelines for convivial public spaces, yet the design team refuses that any kind of 'recipe' might exist. In this particular case, the main concern with benches was their resistance and the choice of trees was mostly guided by tradition, adaptation to climate and leafage, providing shadow in the summer and allowing for the light to filter through naked branches in the winter. In the same logic, shadowing structures were projected for some of Mouraria's small squares, yet the majority of them was abandoned during the construction phase, as their utility was called into question.

This idea that no recipes exist in the placement of street furniture and equipment and that context and local specificities determine the options made takes a different spin in Mouraria. The neighbourhood's configuration, with a very tight intricacy between private and public spaces, small areas and a somewhat centripetal social life gives way to a very strong feeling of appropriation by its residents, most notably the Portuguese ones, 'authentic' or 'newly arrived'.

The mandatory public discussion period of the project had been very little attended by the residents. However, once the actual construction works began, citizen involvement became strong, concentrating on some project details affecting the immediate vicinity of the plaintiffs' homes. Two examples shed light into the design team's refusal of both the 'demiurge' architect and 'recipes for conviviality'.

In one instance, design plans for some of the neighbourhood's squares had to be dressed down, especially in what concerns the presence of furniture and other elements. Saint Anthony's is an important celebration in the city. In the month of June, many of the city's streets and squares become the scene of *arraiais*, a mix between concerts, dances and street cooking, eating and drinking and attract thousands of people. The design team was soon confronted with the need not only to leave some of the squares relatively empty, so as to leave room for the festivities, but also to respect the habitual placement of stages when deciding the precise location of the sparse furniture elements to be implemented.

In another instance, in a very steep stair alleyway in need of renovation, leading to the house of an elderly woman with hampered mobility, the initial design proposed a smoother ascent and an even landing outside her door. The design team's reasoning was that with small dwellings, a relatively isolated location, a landing which could allow a sort of an outwards extension of her home space, especially given her reduced mobility, was an evident advantage. The woman, her family and neighbours vividly refused this intent, and tensions built up to the brink of physical violence. The design team uses this example to underline the unpredictability of user needs and wants and post-redesign uses, and to justify their somewhat minimalistic, clean and universalist approach to the project.

3.3.3. From Rua do Benfornoso to Largo do Intendente

The second public space redevelopment package actually consists of two rather independent projects. Firstly, Rua do Benfornoso, a long and narrow street with very few intersections whose ground floors host a wealth and diversity of 'ethnic' establishments. It is the street branded as the *intercultural corridor* by the preliminary program. Secondly, the Intendente square, designated as a specific intervention by the preliminary program, and perhaps the space that harbours negative representations around drugs and prostitution the most.

Mobility structures the Rua do Benfornoso project. Its main issues will be whether or not to keep a sidewalk, road width and the materials of each section. In spite of the injunction to reuse materials, the design team will question whether a third material should be introduced, more adherent and smoother, besides traditional basalt and limestone. The street's commercial profile was not explicitly taken into account, only in efforts to maintain parking spots. In the only widening in the street, an uphill intersection with a fountain, stairs were put to facilitate mobility and afford sitting space for more agile users.

At the time of the redesign, Intendente square was mostly devoted to motorized circulation and parking and for years it had suffered with stigma and illicit activities. The first premise will be to invert the situation, by making the majority of the square pedestrian. Departing from the square's genesis, a product of disparate constructions throughout time rather than an act of planning, the design team will try to avoid 'too much design' and the imposition of an alien rationale and intentionality in a space moulded by time.

Similarly, given that rupture with the past was unavoidable, the designers will search for elements that would somehow bring forth an idea of continuity, of memory and identity, asserting the square was the same, in spite of the evident changes. While effectively replacing and redesigning the pavement, the designers will strive to keep a few elements in the exact same place to underpin that notion of continuity: trees, a fountain. The sheer increase in pedestrian area will ask the question of additional elements: these (benches, trees) will indeed be introduced, but the design team will try and position them as *randomly* as possible, avoiding clear patterns and straight lines. The modern street lamps (in sheer contrast with the 'traditional' ones used in the rest of the interventions) will be the sole linear fixtures of the space.

The team will be cautious in avoiding elements or a configuration that might afford the 'illicit' activities habitual in the square. There are no dark corners, no secluded spaces; this rather vast space with little elements is also meant to encourage and host public space events, as it is the only big public space in the area. The backless benches should allow multiple perspectives on the square, but also discourage too long a stay (even though they do allow lying down and, eventually, sleeping). Long stays are meant to be catered to by the terraces, expected to occupy the entirety of one of the square's sides.

However, this ambition will be contradicted in a subsequent phase of the process. At a time where the project was already 'finished', the Municipality decides to install a public artwork in the square. Joana Vasconcelos's sculpture *Kit Garden* had won, in 2003, a public art competition; it had been designed for another square in the city centre, yet had never been assembled. Perceiving a certain lack of greenery in the square, the Municipality will impose its installation on the square, which required some adjustments to the initial design.

Kit Garden is at odds with the design team's concern for visibility. The sculpture consists of a wrench-shaped structure in red cast iron encasing a wall of laurels. Each side of the wrench is equipped with benches hidden from the square and walled off by laurel leaves. This seclusion and intimacy provided by the sculpture (and the use of bold colours, too) undermined the team's initial efforts.

Cultural diversity is once again met with a universalizing stance. From the outset, the design was supposed to be integrative, to gather and assemble, without selecting or excluding anyone, in functional, symbolical or other terms. In this case, the designers will translate this universalism by choosing water as the project's leitmotif. Water is interpreted as an important component of the space, because of the fountain and of an important waterline (channelled for long) that traverses the square. In face of the diverse architectural styles and the neighbourhood's cultural diversity, water appears as a unifying element. Around the fountain, an inscription of two verses by Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa reads 'My thought is an underground river. Which lands does it flow to and where does it come from?' It suggests 'we may have different origins, but in the end it doesn't really matter where we come from, rather where we are headed, and that we never really know so we just move on' (designer, interview, 09.2013).

This notion of a flow, of directionality, echoes the objective of increasing pedestrian flows of passers-by. Yet, the team sees their actual ability to, through public space design, turn the everyday uses of the square around as limited. For them, the largely unoccupied buildings surrounding the square are the most critical factor for the success of the transformation, especially its ground floors. Most notably, they see terraces as a particularly important aspect in operating this transition. The Mayor will move his office to the square, renovating a building and sending a clear message to the city. Soon after the end of construction, a hip café will open. But it is another policy tool, piloted by the Housing department at the municipality, which will be instrumental in this change.

BIP/ZIP (neighbourhoods and zones of priority intervention) are areas concentrating large pockets of derelict housing and/or social deprivation, eligible for systematic rehabilitation. At the same time, the Housing department promotes an annual open call for projects of up to 50.000€ located in any of the 67 designated areas. These projects, aimed at improving the urban environment and residents' quality of life, consist of partnerships and small local initiatives in close collaboration with the *Juntas de Freguesia*. Associations, collectives and other entities working in the designated area may also participate, in a logic the municipality describes as 'urban acupuncture'. Since the program's debut in 2011, several projects taking place in the Mouraria area have been funded, some of them in the vicinity of Intendente or on the square itself. These projects include a building for artistic residencies-cum-apart-hotel-cum-café, a community kitchen engaging different gastronomies of the neighbourhood and a cultural association-cum-café-cum-concert venue. The municipality did not especially target the neighbourhood in this BIP/ZIP initiative (it is one among the 67 eligible areas). However, different initiatives, sometimes already operating in the neighbourhood, sometimes in the vicinity, grasped the opportunity and became a powerful motor in enhancing change in the area.

4. Space is not enough: the *Mouraria Community Development Program*

Notwithstanding some 'para-social' projects within the QREN Mouraria's action plan, some stakeholders felt that, in a neighbourhood facing such severe social problems, urbanism was not

enough. Fortuitously, the municipality's concerns for the social welfare of the neighbourhood will coincide with a grassroots movement in the neighbourhood fuelled by concerns regarding its future, and that of its residents, following such a massive intervention in the area. This would be the beginning of community development program (PDCM).

The first year of this 'movement' towards the formalization of Mouraria's PDCM can be divided into three separate phases (Ferro, 2012, p. 51). The first phase consisted in mapping and describing all the institutions and associations working in Mouraria, in order to find common ground for a future common work plan. The program brings together 44 partner institutions, including municipal services and administrations, the Catholic church, local associations, arts/culture associations, institutions dealing with drug abuse, HIV prevention, support to sex workers, and the state body dealing with immigrant integration and intercultural dialogue issues. Among stakeholders' shared beliefs is safety over security, by encouraging public space use; 'diversity'; and 'the possibility of using public spaces in an accessible and creative way' (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2012).

In the second phase, given the lack of systematic data on the neighbourhood, efforts were devoted to drafting a social diagnosis. In spite of the inadequacy of the data available from official sources, this diagnosis permitted a better understanding of the territory, including the mapping of some of the most pressing issues.

The final phase of the program's drafting consisted of identifying the main strengths and weaknesses of the social context, the main domains of future interventions and their target audiences, and the organizing of strategies, objectives and the team. In May 2012, implementation of the program's action plan began. After a SWOT analysis which recognized the neighbourhood's heterogeneity as a possible resource, whilst emitting concerns for social exclusion and the dangers of real estate speculation, the program identified intervention axis and target groups. This eventually led to 25 transversal projects and 4 priority axes, namely education, employment and economy; elderly's quality of life and active ageing; access to healthcare and citizenship for vulnerable populations; fado and territorial identity. Among the financed projects, none of them specifically addresses issues of ethnic/cultural diversity in Mouraria, except for a community kitchen; two projects engage directly with fado (a fado school and a fado program in the neighbourhoods typical restaurants and snack bars). The program will be funded by a successful application to the participatory budget: 1M Euros to be spent in 2012 and 2013 ("A miúda do arraial vai mudar a Mouraria," 2011).

GABIP (an *ad hoc* institution created to oversee the program's implementation) commanded an external evaluation of its effects. An intermediary version leaked to the press (Boaventura, 2014) makes an overall positive assessment of the program. The axis on economic development received the largest share of the funding, and the report criticizes its excessive emphasis on entrepreneurship, at odds with the neighbourhood's characteristics. It mostly contributed to opening up the area to new users rather than to residents' opportunities and qualifications. It was particularly oblivious of the socioeconomics of immigrants. The initiatives targeting the most vulnerable populations were effective, innovative and capacity building. However, the report criticises its disregard for residents' concerns with insecurity and the scarcity of initiatives targeting younger people. Regarding efforts aimed at the elderly, notwithstanding innovations and the sheer number and diversity of actions undertaken, the report laments the generalizing view of the category, not discriminating different populations and needs. Finally, in

the domain of fado and culture, the initiatives seem to be dispersed, less coherent and integrated than in the other axes.

A resident survey confirms the overall positive impact of the interventions. Among the most appreciated changes, there are the actual redevelopment of buildings and public spaces, improvements in mobility and street cleaning. Respondents mentioned insecurity, illicit activities, some defects in the construction work and the management of construction sites as the aspects that did not change or got worse with the rehabilitation program. The survey struggled in reaching the immigrant population, a quarter of the neighbourhood's residents, but who only amount to 8% of respondents.

5. The *Todos* festival: when international relations means intervening in the city

In 2008, the city council launches a new policy for International Relations, to focus on *international relations* within the city itself, i.e. between its different national communities. To address this view of a cosmopolitan Lisbon, a special cabinet working under the direct dependency of the Mayor's office will be created – *Gabinete Lisboa Encruzilhada de Mundos* (GLEM – *Lisbon Crossway of Worlds*).

Soon after having announced this policy shift, the city council is contacted by a cultural producer with a proposition for an intercultural festival. The agreement will be reached based on some ground rules: the festival should involve the residents, promote dialogue, a true exchange, between Lisboans and the foreign cultures living in the city, somehow preventing a further *ghettoization* of these cultures. Soon, Mouraria and Intendente appeared as the natural setting for such an endeavour.

Thus, in 2009 *Todos – caminhada de culturas* (*Everyone – a walkway of cultures*) is born, very faithful to the spirit of GLEM's initial philosophy. In order to ensure that the local residents would participate and enjoy the festival, the first steps by *Todos*' programmers was to get to know the neighbourhood, its residents, and the different nationalities living there who might like to participate... The purpose was to 'bring contemporary art into the neighbourhood, for those people's eyes' (programmer, interview 11/12/2012), 'to make it come to life [...] in an organized way and artistically, aesthetically valid, according to us. That was the starting point' (GLEM, interview 16/01/2013). There are, however, a few nuances between the programmer's and GLEM's discourses: whilst the former emphasises the neighbourhood, its people, and their involvement, the interviewee at GLEM highlights the importance of opening up the neighbourhood, of creating contact and dialogue between its residents and those of the city in general.

The festival takes place throughout 4 to 10 days in September and includes artistic projects who engage the community, the neighbourhood's residents or its public spaces, or which use the neighbourhood as an object of their interventions, as well as other projects, 'international' ones, which somehow address a specific community or subject. The venues are either the public open spaces of the neighbourhood or the facilities of the many associations existing in the area. Even though there is no specific theme to each of the festival's edition, the programmers do somewhat target certain spaces or communities each year. The programming team's engagement with the neighbourhood, also thanks to its small size, allows for a sort of permanent diagnosis, researching for subjects to engage with.

Events planned range in style, medium and type of engagement with the context. A few examples might shed some light on the programmers' rationale. A few projects take pictures of local residents and exhibit them in the neighbourhood's streets (some printed on the walls, others hung temporarily on building façades). Others involve residents as performers, be it in theatre plays or in an orchestra, with residents from different national origins, with a record release. To engage with certain communities, and to bring them out to the streets and get them to somehow claim ownership of the neighbourhood, performers from their original countries present traditional art forms in Mouraria's streets and venues.

There is an apparent consensus on the festival's success, which, in facilitating personal relations between residents, allowed for an alleviation of some of the existing tensions in the neighbourhood. But the most optimistic feedback relates to the opening up of Mouraria to the overall population and in shedding some of its long-lasting negative representations, even if one cannot isolate the festival's effects from the broader picture of great public investment in the whole area.

In fact, the Mayor's engagement with the regeneration of the neighbourhood will also influence *Todos'* fate. The festival was thought of as a festival of interculturalism and not as a festival for Mouraria. Its purpose was to move around the city, through neighbourhoods where there were important concentrations of foreign residents and/or users. Hopefully, the residents would enjoy the experience and eventually take charge of organizing a similar festival in the neighbourhood the following years, whilst the municipality would focus its efforts elsewhere.

The first edition of the festival was a success. 2009 was an election year and the mayor announces that if he wins the elections, the festival will continue, but its intent to move to other neighbourhoods is delayed, in order to avoid accusations of an electoral use of the event. The festival is then maintained in Mouraria, to highlight that there is still a lot of work to be done in the neighbourhood, at the same time that preparations were underway for the implementation of the QREN program. The programmers themselves did not want to leave the neighbourhood. After this first experience, the overall feeling is that there is still a lot to be done and that the connections and networks that had been so hard to create with the community should be further explored. Additionally, the local association who was supposed to take charge of the festival was not able to, for insufficient resources and experiences. As it was politically unimaginable that no festival would happen in Mouraria, it is only in 2012 that the festival moves to another neighbourhood, as well as keeping a program in Mouraria. In 2013, the festival finally moves away, definitely, to another area of the city, with no substitute in Mouraria.

Todos is different from the many events the city council has been promoting throughout the city. In many ways, it approaches the logics behind big events, but its starting point does lay in a somewhat contained philosophy of intercultural dialogue and promoting conviviality between the city's different cultures. However, the high stakes the municipality placed on the neighbourhood will make the festival an important political object in the city and its success will be closely linked to the fate of the city council's general intentions for Mouraria.

6. The *Mercado de Fusão*

6.1. The early years of the Martim Moniz square

When the Martim Moniz square was finally inaugurated in 1997, after an initial curiosity that attracted many passers-by and visitors, African and Indian males who previously gathered on street corners in the vicinity gradually occupied the North edge of the square, each community in its section. People of Chinese origin used other sections. The “traditional” residents of the neighbourhood did not use the square, except for crossing, viewing it as an area appropriated by a foreign Other where they did not belong (Menezes, 2009).

One year later, in order to animate the entirety of the square, the City Council will install forty-four stainless steel kiosks on both sides of the square's central platform. These kiosks were supposed to give a push to the area's economic activity, by hosting retail specialized in regional products, handicraft and antiques. Their mere presence and their very low occupancy rates had a counterproductive effect: the public toilets were soon a preferred location for drug consumption and the spaces in-between the kiosks provided cover for different illegal activities, including drug dealing and a fraudulent business involving phone calls ran by groups of African and Indian migrants. In spite of managing to attract a few tourists and visitors to some of the open kiosks, the intent to open up the square was a failure. It was soon perceived as a dangerous place and the kiosks were nicknamed ‘cages’. (Menezes, 2009)

The cell phone scheme will be the source of conflicts that will eventually bring about a big police operation. In the aftermath, surveillance cameras and private security will be installed. Still, most of the kiosks went bankrupt. In 2000, through a protocol with an association of Chinese salespeople, Chinese vendors will occupy 30 kiosks. It ended up being yet another failure, and by December 2000, the City Council removed all but 10 kiosks. This actually allowed the square to be gradually re-appropriated by different groups and to become a site of public demonstrations for certain specific causes and for traditional celebrations, religious or not. (Menezes, 2009)

6.2. The *Mercado de Fusão*

Mercado de Fusão (Fusion Market) is a sixteen year-long concession of ten food and beverages kiosks on the square and with it the *de facto* concession of two thirds of the square to an entrepreneur specialized in event planning, nightlife and musician agency. Tendering specifications also included the organization of a weekly market and the programming of a stage on the square.

As in *Todos*, here, too, the concept is that of the intersection of cultures and multiculturalism, yet with an explicit purpose of attracting new, artsy publics to the square from nearby hip areas, to complement the tourists already there.

The kiosks will host ‘signature projects’ coherent with the multicultural register of the area, thus seeking to represent all the cuisines of the communities in the vicinity. However, only about 30% of the kiosks should be rented to actual locals, the other 70% brought in from nearby trendy neighbourhoods, once again to attract a totally new public who would effectively bring life to the square. The same rationale will apply to the market, as the organizers will especially target stores from the trendier areas of the city with a few (spice) stores from the neighbourhood, to create a mix.

This concession is the result of a public tendering initiative, subsequent to exchanges between the Municipality and the entrepreneurs who ended up winning the tender. The municipality gives two reasons for this unusual choice of giving away to a private entity the management of part of a public space. Firstly, the location and size of the square make it the scene of more 'porous' uses, which cannot be promoted by the mere redevelopment of the square (which its recent history seems to confirm). Secondly, the animation of squares is not the municipality's 'core business', and a private entity with know-how on the subject would be more qualified to do so (project manager, interview, 10.01.2013).

The concession entailed a minor redesign of the square, mostly around the kiosks and the terrace areas, focusing on street furniture and decoration. The latter draws heavily on 'ethnic' references, to stress the overall concept of the *Mercado*. The conjunction of a kiosk concession covering most of the square, prerogatives in event planning and in the organization of the market allow for comprehensive management of the area based on the overall concept of the *Mercado*, partially built in opposition to the square's immediate surroundings, rather than on the needs of each specific activity. The *Mercado* is not a commercial success, but its purpose is rather to act as a pioneer moment in a vaster strategy of attracting new publics to the area, relying on and strengthening the wealth of initiatives currently at labour in re-semanticizing the neighbourhood.

7. Concluding remarks: on the mobilizations of public space and the multicultural in the remaking of Mouraria

The purpose of this long description of the array of initiatives that have shaped the transformation Mouraria is currently undergoing should provide a more nuanced understanding of the rationalities behind this particular process of socio-spatial change. My overarching argument is that accounts of such processes of change often consist of acute critiques which often assume a monolithic political-economic apparatus orchestrating these processes along a coherent line of reasoning.

In my opinion, the first key to understand Mouraria's transformation is the history of urban rehabilitation in the municipal machinery, rather than the history of the neighbourhood itself. From its onset as a very socially minded approach to building rehabilitation and heritage conservation, municipal urban rehabilitation has been undergoing, since the mid-1990s, a period of adaptation to both new urban challenges and broader reconfigurations of the role of the State and of the relationship between central and local tiers of government. While this adaptation clearly reflects the structural forces of a neo-liberalizing world, it also reflects, in its most recent formulations, municipal attempts at continuing to 'make city' and 'make society' in this changing context. Public space will gradually emerge as one of the few relatively consensual domains of state intervention, and of doing so visibly whilst playing the game of neoliberal discourses of competitiveness and free enterprise.

Public space first becomes part of urban rehabilitation's lexicon in Lisbon when tourism and tourists become a user category to be catered to. It is the time of Integrated Projects, where socio-cultural facilities are the centrepiece to broader interventions, including public spaces, deemed important to make said facilities attractive and their fruition pleasurable. Its current role seems to be a moderate version of the neoliberal turn in the early 2000s, where *megaempreitadas* were contracted out to big developers along strategic axes, but focused on

actual buildings. QREN Mouraria maintains previous ideas of a large-scale intervention, of catering to tourists and other *flâneurs*, but is confronted with the absolute necessity of financial parsimony. Public space is then used as a lever for private investment, wherein the municipality tries to intervene as indirectly as possible, and as a powerful tool for rebranding and transform negative representations of the site.

Nevertheless, the municipality's financial constraints give greater agency to existing funding programs, who will shape not only the areas worthy of intervention (creating of a sort of priority geography), but also the type of interventions eligible for financing. In the case of *Partnerships for urban regeneration*, despite paying due respects to current policy jargon of multidimensional and sustainable development, participation and partnerships, it does clearly guide action programmes towards public space redevelopment, creation of public facilities and entrepreneurship schemes. Moreover, in the precise case of QREN Mouraria, the short timeframe for writing up the application prevented more ambitious partnership building and endeavours into the social realm. That is why other public entities and long standing associations in the neighbourhood were the privileged partners of the program, for rather residual projects, as the project management team had a long history of engagement with the neighbourhood via the GTL and was thus able to capitalise on pre-existing networks, while failing to create new ones.

The history of urban rehabilitation in Lisbon sheds further light on ongoing changes in Mouraria, if one focuses on how the problems of rehabilitation are technically framed and consequently the field of possibilities are shaped downstream. The preliminary program to public space requalification shows how the relationship to heritage structures the engagement of the municipality with the territory in this instance. The insistence on Mouraria's historicity will clearly limit the realm of possible design solutions and privilege the 'authentic' Lisboans of the neighbourhood because they are conflated with Fado, itself undergoing a process of heritageisation.

The designs will pick up this relationship to the built form and traditional materials and will make it one of their driving forces. They will actively respond to another of the preliminary program's favoured subjects, mobility and accessibility. Both these subjects allow a certain technicisation and rationalisation of propositions, and sit comfortably with design professionals' expertise in justifying formal and aesthetic choices. The designers' unwillingness to technicise their discourses on uses and on cultural diversity coincides with the preliminary program's general disregard of those issues. In both proposals, universalising notions of users and use are mobilized and catered to, following a somewhat organicist and evolutionary view of the matter, where design's capacity to shape everyday life is seen as residual. Public space design should remove obstacles and create minimal affordances for use; the actual creation of new uses is seen as the consequence of other domains, namely land use.

The preliminary program, in spite of being incisive on a few details and on the overall objective of the interventions, is rather vague when it comes to specific spaces. However, it is this vagueness on certain matters that will allow the coexistence of seemingly contradictory objects in the same space, in a clear example of how different rationalities might coexist in a single policy moments. This is particularly evident in the Intendente square, when the design team is demanded to include Joana Vasconcelos' sculpture in their project. The fact that preliminary programs to public space design are somewhat rare in Lisbon and that the design team for this

section was recruited within the municipal administration might play a role in explaining this apparent contradiction. The way these interventions are organized, including both the municipality's structure and *ad hoc* institutions, is another possible explanatory source. Unfortunately, these aspects fall outside the scope of this paper.

Accordingly, the almost total absence of any engagement whatsoever with the immigrant communities by the QREN Mouraria program and its designs seems first and foremost due to a relative inability to deal with practices and citizen involvement in planning and design, rather than to anything specific to these interventions themselves. Besides the legally demanded periods of public discussion for certain plans and projects, Lisbon has not a strong tradition of citizen engagement in the planning processes. Moreover, these public discussions are often little participated. In spite of designers' claims on how participated the projects were (when compared to the municipality's normal practices), it seems that more than 'participation' it was reactions to the project during the actual construction phase that had the greater impact. And here it seems it was mostly Portuguese nationals who were able to make themselves heard, especially 'authentic' Mouraria residents, especially in the Largo do Caldas – Rua dos Cavaleiros segment. The apparent disengagement of immigrant communities from these processes requires further research.

It must be acknowledged, however, that in the overall regeneration program in Mouraria, local stakeholders have been involved in decision making processes and that this is, in many ways, novel for the municipality's traditional ways of engagement with urbanism. Even in the proximity management era of urban rehabilitation, this proximity meant a close catering to resident needs, close to assistentialist rationales, rather than decision making and co-production of policy. Yet, both in the drafting of the QREN program and of the PDCM, efforts were made to bring together different institutions operating in the area under a common goal, to pursue given objectives insufficiently addressed by the city council's everyday workings. That there are relatively few of such associations led and/or explicitly oriented towards immigrant populations seems to be the most important factor in explaining their underrepresentation in both these policy instruments.

Projects funded through the BIP/ZIP echo a similar stride for bottom-up initiatives and community development. Here, too, an impartial, 'rational' and 'universal' policy tool will end up reinforcing existing dynamics and directions of change. There will be an overrepresentation of projects funded in the Mouraria/Intendente area, when comparing to all 67 BIP/ZIP, most of the times engaging people and institutions somehow already involved in the other municipal partnerships. These funds will allow some projects to kickstart or to continue on with their activities that both QREN and PDCM had not been able to.

Thus, part of the coherence of municipal intervention and subsequent socio-spatial change in the neighbourhood is not quite due to a unitary conception of an end result spearheaded by the municipality, nor to a homogeneity in methods and processes, but rather to a somewhat coherent network of local stakeholders who were initially mobilized by the city council and garnered momentum in securing funding from different sources in order to undertake their projects. The fact that these projects are often geared towards an opening up of the neighbourhood towards the exterior strengthens that same movement initiated by public space redevelopment and public space events.

However, many interviewees somehow connected to at least one of the instances described in this article report meaningful interpersonal contact with immigrants. Most often, they make reference to help and accompany migrants getting around language barriers, especially when dealing with Portuguese bureaucracy, besides everyday conviviality. What seems somehow absent is the transformation of these informal networks into something policy-oriented.

This is not to say that immigrant populations are completely side-lined in these processes, they might be, evidently, reached by all instruments and projects implemented in the area. Nonetheless, there seems to be difficulty in addressing possible specificities because of their immigrant status and cultural difference. But yet again, this difficulty in engaging with culture and practices seems general rather than exclusive to non-Western cultures. Besides the need to answer to popular demand for space for the *arraiais* which had to be met by one of the design teams, the culture and practices of the ‘authentic’ Lisboans in Mouraria is all but reduced to a few initiatives revolving around *fado*, not necessarily carried by local practitioners of the genre. Similarly, the ethnic diversity of the neighbourhood is mostly addressed through its most visible manifestations, shops (and, in the somewhat extreme case of the *Mercado de Fusão*, as a concept). Recent plans for building the second largest mosque in the city in Rua do Benfornoso further suggest that the question is not one of ignorance of immigrant presence in Mouraria, but rather that of a disconnection between the modalities of their presence and municipal *modi operandi*, which do not intersect too often.

That is why, among the plethora of interventions presented here, with different objectives and employing different methods and engaging different stakeholders, what emerges, in my opinion, as the most relevant thread is the relationship between the municipality and its ‘subjects’ (people or territories) and how it is mediated by methods and perceptions of appropriate domains of public intervention. In this line of reasoning, both universalist stances of public space design and emphasis on partnership building in certain established policy domains reveal a certain *malaise* and inability of engaging directly with the everyday practices of individuals and communities, beyond objects, facilities or the external manifestations of those practices.

Todos (and some other initiatives funded by BIP/ZIP which have not been explicitly presented here) seems to be the exception to my proposition. My argument is that because it sits outside of the machinery of municipal administration, because its discourse and tools are affiliated to a rationale which has not been assimilated by the council’s ordinary structure, and because it is an event, *Todos* had the time and liberty to explore and address these issues of the everyday life of Mouraria.

To conclude, further research on the modalities of how both the political and technical structures within Lisbon’s municipality pose the *problem* of Mouraria might prove to be a fruitful strategy to make sense of both the diversity and the coherence of public action in Mouraria.

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